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Christianizing Race Relations

A. P. Shaw

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Christianizing Race Relations

As a Negro Sees It

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LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

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DEDICATION

To my wife and children; to the membership of Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church, and to the Southern California Methodist Preachers' Meeting, I dedicate this book.

—A. P. Shaw.

INTRODUCTION

I AM fully aware that a very large percentage of the books printed are not worth the printers' ink with which they are printed, and that their sale represents an expression of sympathy with their authors and a token of abiding friendship rather than a genuine conviction that their books are worth while. I am also aware of the fact that many books attract temporary interest and exert a short-lived influence upon the times and conditions in which they are produced only to become antiquated and useless after the first reading. And yet, on account of an inexplainable urge within me and a request by many that I publish my thoughts on race relations, without any of that self-consciousness or conceit which might possibly become an author's chief motive power in such an undertaking; I present to the public this little discussion of a world-problem today which is so recognized by most of the forward thinkers of all races and which is pressing tremendously for an adequate solution.

For eleven years I have been a resident pastor on the East Side of Los Angeles, California, where are gathered together in goodly numbers practically all races and nationalities under heaven. I have watched the children of these races and nationalities play together on the playgrounds at school, on public playgrounds, and in the streets. I have talked with the leaders of many of these racial and national groups and have rubbed shoulders with them in political campaigns and in the market places. I am a Negro member of the Southern California Conference of the Meth-

odist Episcopal Church, generously honored by the members of the Conference with the fourth place in the ministerial delegation of nine to the General Conference at Kansas City.

I have been permitted to assist somewhat in adjusting the Negro population of Los Angeles, increased very largely by the recent exodus of Negroes from the South and elsewhere, to the new residential and housing situation, which at many times grew serious and vexing. Many of the civic organizations of the white race, and the Protestant Churches without regard to denomination, have kindly given me the privilege of addressing them on various occasions upon the subject of Race Relations. There has been forced upon me the necessity of giving some thought to this subject on account of the fact that I belong to the Negro race,—and because the Christian churches are making an earnest effort to study race situations, —so that I might be able to address those desiring my services with some degree of intelligence.

I do not assume any finished scholarship in this matter of Race Relations. Most of my reading upon the subject has been that kind that I have been able to snatch during spare time from my reading of those books and magazines on preaching and pastoral work in which I am engaged and in which I major. I discover, however, that the best that I have seen written has been produced on the theory that the whole American race problem can be solved by the purely educational process of getting better acquainted with the Negro or with other races. While a good deal of our difficulty in many matters is occasioned by a lack of knowledge, yet a little self-examination will show each of us that there are many good things which we know that we have not the moral courage and stamina to do.

Knowledge is a trail-blazer, and it has always and probably ever shall run far in advance of conduct and deeds. There is enough of ethics written in the Bible and books on that subject to transform even the masses into saints, but we are sadly conscious of the fact that in spite of the dissemination of knowledge, the masses of the human race are just a little above the half civilized in their conduct. Information may help some in the solution of the race problem, but its adequate solution must come through a transformation.

Some have gone much further in stating that the solution of the race problem lies in applying to it the spirit and teachings of Jesus. This is one of those generalities which says all but does nothing. To my mind, the problem of getting the spirit of Jesus and his teachings into the masses of the people is as difficult, if not more difficult, than the problem of race relations itself. For nineteen centuries the church has been busy working on that task, but it takes only a casual examination of folks to discover that the number filled with the spirit of Jesus even in the churches is very much smaller than the number on our church rolls. Even in Christian America, we are only one third Christian. To wait therefore until America shall become sufficiently Christian in its conduct in race relations for a bearable practice in that regard is a situation too hopeless for those who suffer under present conditions to derive much comfort from it.

I am fully persuaded that the Christian idealist, either as a reformer or an ordinary member of society, can become too finicky because people do not measure up to the ideal in thought and conduct. Practically, we had just as well settle on this fact, that the ideal and the perfect in most regards are among those "Far off divine events toward which the whole

creation moves;" and we should be quite happy if we find ourselves moving in that direction. Wesley's idea of "going on to perfection" is both Biblical and practical. If we become "perfect in love" and in good will toward our fellow man, we have a foundation upon which we can go on to practical perfection as our knowledge, environment, moral character and stamina increase and become more ethical.

I am also persuaded that the burden of the problem of Race Relations between the white and black people of America lies in the unwillingness on the part of many white people to think of the Negro as a human being and extend to him the respect, courtesy, and good will ordinarily accorded to fellow human beings. The old slavery-time conception of the Negro as a soulless creature, just a little above perhaps the domestic animals owned alike by his master, still lingers whether we confess it or not. Nor should we expect that kind of thinking concerning the Negro to vanish with only sixty years of freedom and while many former slaves and former masters still live. It is a perfectly natural attitude for a master-race to assume toward a slave-race. I do not mean that this attitude is Christian, but it is natural and more sub-moral than immoral.

The whole American system of race adjustment is not Christian at all, and was not intended so to be. It is a practical adjustment of a situation arranged without the thought of the spirit of Christianity in mind. No legislator studied the Bible to find a precedent for jim-crow car laws, separate schools, segregated districts for the homes of the white and black people, and curbing the Negro by lynching—not so much for rape, but for any provoking crime against white people. These were and are the practical product of the hu-

manly natural way of thinking about the Negro during slavery and largely since emancipation. Now since the Negro has proved, even by his shortcomings, that he is very much human, it is time that a change of thinking concerning him should be made, and he should be considered human like the rest of folks.

The second cause of the burden of race relations between the white and black races in America, lies in the humanly impractical expectations on the part of Negroes, of a situation that is ideally Christian among a people and civilization and even a Christian Church, which are not ideally Christian. I am certain that I shall not be at all offensive to any white people, without any reflection upon their superiority, to state that they who really know themselves are willing to confess with the Apostle Paul: "I do not say that I have already won the race or have already reached perfection. But I am pressing on, striving to lay hold of the prize for which also Christ has laid hold of me. Brethren, I do not imagine that I have yet laid hold of it. But this one thing I do, forgetting everything which is past, and stretching forward to what lies in front of me, with my eyes fixed on the goal, I push on to the prize of God's heavenward call in Christ Jesus." —(Weymouth's translation.)

We, America, the Christian Church, and our civilization are not yet ideally Christian. We are only Christian in the making. When, therefore, the Negro in his vivid imagination expects the ideally Christian in race relations, he over leaps the bounds of practical good sense. He expects too much. He too must be patient to wait on the movement of things toward the ideal, and should shout a loud "Amen" when he sees things in race relations moving in that direction. We Negroes who labor under the burden that we are not

being treated in an ideally Christian way by our white fellow countrymen and churchmen should not forget the fact that our conduct toward each other falls far short of "original righteousness."

A little sanctified common sense put into the race situation in America would soon solve this problem and make the situation bearable and ethical, and would manifest that moving on toward practical perfection which is the most that we mortals can expect. In fact, it is the most we get in practically every avenue of life. Who has a perfect husband, wife, or child? Who is perfectly satisfied even with himself? Who is it that perfectly does anything? And yet is there not in the world a good deal of pleasure and satisfaction, and even happiness? Love for and faith in the ultimate triumph of the good and true and kind may well be counted for righteousness in present situations even in race relations.

This discussion is composed of matter taken from addresses on several aspects of Race Relations. It bears therefore the stamp of a direct personal appeal. I have tried to view the situation not only with the eyes and point of view of a Negro, but as far as possible, I have tried to discuss the situation in a manner sympathetic to what I consider the point of view of white people. Those who know me personally are aware of the fact that I harbor no bitterness against white people. I believe that both the white and black races suffered much in the institution of slavery and are also sufferers under the present imperfect, and in many cases unjust and un-American system of race relations.

Whatever is written which may appear to have the sting of hatred in it, is merely to make the statement more emphatic and also to call the attention of white

people to the way some of us are thinking about the situation. The paramount purpose of this little volume is to set the Christian white people to thinking and acting upon some worthy solution of this very acute and pressing problem in our country, and to challenge their Christian manhood and womanhood to arise; and with the same unselfishness, big-heartedness and vigor with which they have attacked and solved other equally difficult problems in American history, solve this problem which is detracting so much from the lofty ideals and practical standards and traditions of the American people.

Chapter I

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE IN RACE RELATIONS

THE race problem with all of its present ramifications is modern and not ancient, and does not reach back to the time when Jesus was manifest in the flesh among men. In the fragmentary story of his life which has come down to us, we have no exact parallel of modern race issues, and therefore, no complete and direct solution of our problem taught by Jesus himself. At the time when Paul spoke on Mars Hill, what he said was true when he told the assembled Athenians that God "had made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation." But since that day, there has been a swarming among the races and nations undreamed of by the ancient world; so that now we have in America a race and national situation Paul knew nothing about. Modern migrations and the slave trade have broken up the Pauline order of the habitation of races and nations so that now members of all the five races of men can be found dwelling together in practically every metropolitan city. Those white-supremacy, race-segregation experts who quote the latter part of this Scripture as a Biblical warrant for their contentions are mere Scripture jugglers. It is rather strange that the work of the Almighty who "hath fixed the bounds of their habitation" should need so much to be tinkered with by human hands and minds.

It is far more complex and preplexing than that of the time when Jesus was on earth. In it we have an intermixture of the struggle between pagan master and slave, between modern capital and labor, between tribal and national differences and suspicions. In our problem we have the worthy desire to preserve racial integrity and identity in the midst of a complex social order. The mere approach to the solution of this problem is beset with inferiority and superiority complexes which make the situation even more confusing. We have a real problem on our hands which cannot be solved by force nor by the desire for the mastery. The old pagan struggle for supremacy which still holds many people in its bondage must cease, and the Christian principles of good will, faith, long suffering, mercy, kindness, love, fellowship and brotherhood must prevail. We have a real problem in race relations. I think if Jesus himself had our problem he would stoop down and write longer on the ground than he did in the case of the sinner woman brought to him to be stoned.

JESUS SOLVED THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS AND CASTE DISTINCTIONS

Although Jesus did not have the opportunity to solve a race problem so complex as ours in his day, he did solve many problems which can be considered as factors of great significance in our problem. Let us study together a few of these factors so that we may arrive at an approximate conclusion as to what Jesus would do if he had the task of adjusting our present race relations situation.

In the fourth chapter of John's Gospel, we have the story of the meeting of Jesus with the Samaritan

woman at Jacobs' well. Though a Jew himself, he ignored the traditional, racial, and caste differences between himself and Samaritans and talked with her as he would have talked with any other human being.

Jesus stressed humanity and personality. He ignored traditional, racial, and caste differences. He discovered in this woman an earnest listener and a person hungry for more of the knowledge and experience of God. He told her deep things about religion and God which he had not even revealed to his disciples. He saw in the evangelization of these Samaritans a great opportunity for service and a field already white for harvest.

Jesus emphasized character and kindness, and ignored little, social and official distinctions. When he taught neighborliness he told the story of the Good Samaritan who was the hero, while the Priest and Levite in their heartless ceremonial righteousness were mere boobs. He looked for character and goodness and not for race or nationality. He discovered in the Syro-Phenician woman a faith greater than that which he had found in Israel.

JESUS ENLARGED UPON THE FAMILY IDEA

One day Jesus was quite busy in the midst of a crowd teaching and healing. His mother, brothers, and sisters were pressing for an opportunity to talk with him. He let them wait so long that even his disciples thought him discourteous to his near relatives. He took this opportunity to enlarge upon the family idea and made it bigger and broader than mere blood kinship. He made of one family all people doing the will of God as he said: "For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, my sister and mother."

We easily glean from this statement of Jesus that the unity of the human race as he recognized it, is not in race nor nationality, nor even in blood descendance; but in oneness of doing God's will. Even into the intimate relationship of the family he brings all peoples of all classes and conditions whose hearts are fixed on obeying God.

OTHER ELEMENTARY PROBLEMS SOLVED

Modern Saducees throw the intermarriage issue into modern race relations merely for the sake of complicating matters as did their predecessors of old, but the answer is the same as Jesus gave: "In the kingdom of heaven (on earth and within folks) there is no marrying and giving in marriage." This relationship is a minor matter which should not effect in the least our good-will, love, and fellowship each with the other. Jesus lifted up penitent sinners to places of reconciliation with himself. He hurled pagan lords down from their thrones of dominion and power, and made the greatest among people the servant of all. He broke the bondage of slaves and bound masters in bond-service of God. He dined with penitent sinners, but hurled anathemas into the teeth of self-righteous hypocrites. He broke down the artificial barriers between races, nationalities and even sex as stated by Paul in Galatains 3:28. "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

SELF EXALTATION

Another one of these non-Christian attitudes which hinders the progress of a right relationship between the races is the spirit of self-exaltation. Is it not strange that a spirit so obnoxious in personal relationships of people of the same race can become

praise-worthy in matters of race relationships? If an individual white man went around among his own fellow race-men boasting of his personal superiority and supremacy, he would be considered a subject of observation in the psychopathic ward of some hospital. In many cases he might express a real fact by making such a claim, but his practical sanity would be questioned nevertheless.

The teachings of Jesus are quite clear in this matter. This is the way he acted under such circumstances: "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God and went to God; he riseth from supper" and grew quite "cocky" over it? No. "He riseth from supper and laid aside his garments, and took a towel and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a basin and began to wash his disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded." He did the humble, menial thing to indicate the true spirit of the really superior person. Self-exaltation is not Christian at all either in individuals or in races or nations. Real exaltation is not from within, but from without. "For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." Paul in writing concerning Jesus wrote the following: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took upon himself the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name that is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in the earth, and things

under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the Glory of God the Father."

Granting that such terms as "Nordic Superiority" and "White Supremacy," represent the actual facts in the case, it is far better Christian taste to have them as expressions upon the tongues and from the pens of other than people of the white race.

FELLOWSHIP. BROTHERHOOD

Another formidable hindrance to the solution of the problem of race relations is the false and un-Christian idea that Christian courtesy, fellowship, and brotherhood, so commendable among people of the same race, must be replaced by an attitude much lower in its ethical qualities and content in dealing with other races. It often happens under the present system of race relations, that the same white man is a courteous, affable, brotherly, gentleman with people in his own race, but a pompous, rough, discourteous ruffian in dealing with Negroes. I have heard Railroad Ticket Agents in the South speak in that soft southern tone of voice to the white patrons of the company, who, after having studiously served all the the needs of the traveling white public, would come over to the Negro window and address the waiting Negro patrons like this: "Nigger, what do you want?" Jesus draws no race or caste lines in matters of common courtesy. If there is any preference given at all by him, it is to the weak and humble. He did not desire his disciples to think of him as Lord and Master, but as a friend. "Henceforth I call you not servants, for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth, but I have called you friends."

The New Testament also makes much of the common Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Christian people of all races are adopted in the family of God, and each and all alike, become the heirs with Jesus Christ. The lack of Christian fellowship, brotherhood and good-will is unthinkable to a genuine Christian and has no place whatever in a Christian community or civilization.

SELF PRESERVATION

One of the formidable arguments in our modern system is self-preservation. Let us inquire into the Christian method of self-preservation and see whether it harmonizes very well with our own.

Jesus states: "He that seeketh to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." This is a paradoxical saying which sounds rather strange; but nevertheless, it works. If there is any success whatever in selfishness, it is shortlived and unworthy of permanence. Has the South actually saved itself by its methods of self-preservation in race relations? It has not. Booker T. Washington often warned his southern white hearers by saying: "It is not possible for you to keep the Negro down without remaining down there with him." This statement was not only true but prophetic. The fact is, the South has spent so much of its time and brains in trying to curb the Negro that it has not given the attention to itself it might have by following the self-preservation program of Jesus in race relations.

Has the South actually preserved itself? Her fields that once blossomed as a rose have grown up in weeds. Her population and wealth are on the decrease instead of the increase! Her most progressive citizens have

migrated in larger numbers than the Negroes during the last few years. That portion of the South where the white race has been most unjust in its treatment of the Negro, is a desolation and a waste. Were it not for the northern and eastern capital—some of it Jewish—used in exploiting the natural resources of the country, it would be poorer than Mexico. The extreme South has not produced a single nationally great man or woman in the last fifty years. Isn't it strange that the best known persons from the south are Negroes? What Southern Educator is as well known as Booker T. Washington? The Luther Burbank among the plants of the South is a Negro at Tuskegee by the name of Carver. The highest paid and most highly cultured vocal artist the South has ever produced is a Negro, Roland W. Hayes of Georgia.

Some things white people do to preserve and conserve their place of world-leadership are not at all harmonious with their own high ideals. We are surprised that some white people are so alarmed over the rising tide of color, and have no considerable fear of the ebbing tide of morality and real heroism that has made them the mighty people they are today. The only sensible and practical way to escape the rising tide of color is to move on up to higher altitudes in one's own character and achievement. It is a waste of time and a silly program to build anti-race dikes to hold one's own and yet remain below the sea level of others.

We are also surprised that after the World War, when the whole world became, as never before, a neighborhood; instead of setting up a standard and program commensurate with the age and needs of the new world in which we live today; so many of the white race, in sympathy and silence, if not in en-

thusiastic membership, revolted from the leadership of such broad-gauged immortals as Washington, Emerson, Lincoln and Roosevelt, and follow the mixed clam-shell-porcupine leadership of that Imperial Wizard, Colonel Simmons of Atlanta, Georgia.

Whether we think it practical in race relations or not, the teaching of Jesus will not be done away by our notions to the contrary. "He that seeketh to save his life shall lose it." It happens that way in spite of us.

THE NEGRO'S PLACE

Perhaps the greatest single hindrance to a Christian race relationship between the white and black races in America is the crystalized sentiment among many white people that there is a certain fixed, definite, and impassable place for the Negro. This fixed placed is so un-American, un-Christian, and in many cases, so inhuman; that few ever have the boldness to express it in words. Only such unethical leaders like Cole Blease of South Carolina, James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, and Hoke Smith of Georgia have had the immortal courage of their convictions to express themselves publicly in this matter. It is like the "unwritten law" in the South. It is unwritten, but it is the law nevertheless. To those who live in the South, both white and black people, it is well known and needs no written expression. It is about like this:

The Negro's place is one of serfdom and servility. As long as he is content with this kind of a relationship with his white fellow countrymen he is wanted. As soon as, by any means whatsoever, he rises out of serfdom and servility, he is not wanted. Such slogans as: "A government of the people, for the people and by the people" have no meaning whatever in the

South's attitude toward the Negro. In many southern communities where the Negroes outnumber the white people 5 to 1, it would be a serious offense to white supremacy in governmental matters if any Negro were exalted to a place of constable in a backwoods township. This under-dog place is studiously guarded by many southern communities. The least sign of rising above it is met by great force and determination. I can remember when a young Negro of my southern home town who had ordered a bicycle back in those days of the early use of that advanced method of locomotion, and was forbidden to ride it. When he ventured to ride it, only the cool heads of the old settlers and friends of the boy's parents were able to avert a lynching. Negro first owners of automobiles in many southern communities have always had a serious difficulty. It looked too much like coming out of the Negroes proverbial "place." I personally know a prominent Negro of Jackson, Mississippi, the capital of the state, who was forbidden to drive his new Packard car on the main street of the city. This Negro pays a larger sum for taxes than any other individual taxpayer in the city or state.

The place for the Negroes' homes in this unwritten law is down by the railroad tracks in the towns or cities, or in that portion without paved streets or modern improvements. Except in rare cases, the Negro's place to work is in some menial occupation or some task too heavy and difficult for his white competitor to desire. No matter what his personal achievement in character and success he must do that almost impossible thing of appearing servile and inferior.

Time will not permit me to go into further detail concerning the Negro's place. I mention the above only by way of introduction to his fixed *sanctum*

sanctorium, and also to inquire primarily as to what are the teachings of Jesus concerning a man's place. It is any place he is able to occupy and in which he can serve his God and his fellow man. Jesus selected warm-hearted, docile, energetic people without regard to social position, to be his disciples. Not many wise were called. Not because Jesus was opposed to the wise, but their conceit made it practically impossible for them to learn of him. In our Christian System, our Holy God is not exclusive. He calls his sin-scarred children to repentance and holiness with Himself. He adopts them into His family and makes them His heirs. Even His servants are not restricted to servility. He makes them Kings and Priests unto Himself. He pleads with sinful human beings to turn from their sins and dedicate themselves to Him in such a way that God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit may all come and dwell and abide in them.

Jesus lifted his disciples to such intimate relationship with himself that he prayed the Father that they might be continually with him and behold his glory.

In God's great program the place of honor is given to *overcomers,* and not to races. It is quite illuminating to read the messages of the Resurrected Son of God to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. In each one of them some specific promise is made to the overcomer. Let us note these promises: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the midst of the paradise of God." "He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death." "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth save he that receiveth it." "He that overcometh and keepeth my works to the end, to him will I give power

over the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken into shivers, even as I received of my Father, and I will give him the morning star." "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot his name out of the Book of Life, but I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels." "He that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of God, and the name of the city of God which is New Jerusalem which cometh down out of heaven from my God, and I will write upon him a new name." "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

God is not selfish nor exclusive. He gives to overcomers without regard to race or nationality a place in His own throne. Those little, exclusive races or individuals who are afraid of being defiled by association with overcomers of any race, don't know anything about the majesty and sweep and all-inclusiveness of the Divine program of human exaltation. They themselves must overcome selfishness and race exclusiveness before they will be able to sit with God on His throne. The Negro's "place" is any place as an individual or as a race he can win by the grace of God and by overcoming evil.

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WEAK

Even if we grant the fact that the Negro is a backward race, is it in keeping with the demands of a Christian civilization to oppress and crush him? Is that the practice in the families of any race to

crush and humiliate its weak members? The opposite is generally the case. Those that are strong bear the infirmities of the weak and strive with all their might to equalize matters. It is highly unethical and unpardonable for strong boys of the same race to impose upon and ill-treat a cripple of that race; but when it comes to a strong race's crushing and imposing upon, and exploiting a weaker race, the ethics of the matter changes altogether. Does it?

The very genius of Christianity is its salvaging power. It takes the wreckage of humanity and makes something worthy out of it. It transforms sinners into saints; it makes the lame leap as an hart; it gives the blind man sight; it rescues the leper from the leper colony and restores him to family and society; it is no system of the survival of the fittest, but it makes the whole social order fit to survive. In Christianity the strong bear the infirmities of the weak even to their own displeasure.

Chapter II

PRESENT RACE RELATION SITUATION HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

BEFORE any problem can be solved there must be an accurate statement of the factors involved as well as an indication as to what is to be done to effect a solution. To know accurately what Jesus would do, and to understand what the Christian's attitude in race relations are; only represent straws which point the way to the solution of the problem, but the most difficult task remains yet to be done.

The practical man asks the question: What is it all about? It is our purpose in this chapter to answer that question as accurately and in a manner as unprejudiced as possible.

Here in America we have, besides white people of different nationalities, a population composed of about one tenth black people whose ancestors were brought to America as slaves. These black people remained in bondage to their white masters for nearly two hundred fifty years. In 1863, as a war measure, they were set free and later given citizenship and suffrage by the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. Before emancipation the greater number of black people naturally gravitated into the southern agricultural states where unskilled slave labor was the most profitable, and where in many communities they out numbered the white people. After having been set free they made their homes in the south among their

former masters, in many cases, on the same plantations upon which they lived and worked as slaves.

That a relationship closely akin to slavery and very little removed from that in slavery resulted, seems a natural and necessary sequence. This is what happened in the south after emancipation. Mere legislation could not revolutionize the psychology of both races; hence the master-race assumed the mastery and the slave-race for the most part acquiesced in the semi-slavery system which followed. It is true that many former slave Negroes were exalted to places of political power and position immediately after slavery by the military rule in force for many years after emancipation in the south; but most of those who were thus exalted were the exceptional native Negroes and northern, educated, Negroes who came in and took advantage of the new situation assisted by northern whites better known as "Carpet Baggers" who went into the south for the same purpose. For a considerable period known as the "Period of Reconstruction" in the south, the whites were naturally disfranchized on account of having taken part in the war against the Union. During this period the so-called "Black and Tan" legislatures took such complete possession of many of the state governments in the South that it required nearly two decades for the native southern whites to over throw entirely their political regime.

That out of such an unparalleled race situation should grow a system of race relations far below a Christian standard is nothing more than might be expected. After four years of civil struggle in which they were not only losers of victory on the battle field, but losers in their wealth and the lives of their most promising sons, one would hardly expect the southern people to attempt to solve a problem thrust upon them

against their will, by foes more keenly hated than the Negroes themselves, in any kind of calm, patient, Christian mood.

The wonder of the whole situation is that they did as well as they did in adjusting themselves to the new situation. It was during times and in conditions of this kind that the present race relationships between the white and black people of our country had their beginnings and from which they have grown to their present well nigh fixed forms. Looking at the situation from a human point of view and remembering that the southern people had very little time and less perhaps of disposition to solve their new problem according to the program of Jesus, we can see how and why they went about solving the problem in a very human way.

Their leadership politically and otherwise was not only threatened, but in many cases taken from them by the new political regime set up during the period of re-construction by their conquerors and former slaves, or members of a slave race. That they adopted and executed methods which would bring quick results, right or wrong, made very little difference. It was results they sought. To meet this pressing issue arose the original Knights of the Klu Klux Klan clad in sheets and pillow cases, riding forth at midnight on errands of intimidation, arson and even murder, directed forth not only against ambitious former slaves; but against northern white people seeking political leadership or teaching the freedman in public or religious schools. The sheer necessity of self-preservation produced a political and psychological solidarity among southern people so sacred that it has become their religion. Around their struggle to restore their state governments temporarily taken from them by

military power and given to enemies and slaves; around their effort to preserve the fruits of their labors, right or wrong, for generations to come even forever, center memories as sacred as the night of the Passover to the Jews; the signing of the Magna Charta by King John to the liberty loving English people; the Declaration of Independence to the American people, or the surrender of Lee at Appomattox to the Yankees.

On account of the fact that the bulk of the Negro population has been in the South, the South naturally has set the pace in establishing certain fixed standards of race relations between white and black people. Although it is difficult to find a regular fixed written creed by which southern people are governed in that regard, one can run across it written occasionally, although practically every southern white man or Negro knows the creed intuitively.

The following is the racial creed of southern people printed in Neals Monthly Magazine, November, 1913; and reprinted in Doctor Thomas Pearce Bailey's Book on Race Orthordoxy in the South in 1914. Doctor Bailey was at one time Professor of Education in the University of Chicago; Superintendent of Schools of Memphis, Tennessee; Investigator for the Bureau of New York Municipal Research; and Dean of the Department of Education and Professor of Psychology in the University of Mississipi.

While this creed was written in 1913, one who is acquainted with Southern thinking on race relations knows that since that time, in spite of the world war and numerous economical and scientific changes that have taken place, the Racial Creed of the southern people remains practically the same today.

THE CREED

HERE is the racial creed of the southern people as expressed by a group of representative southerners during 1913.

1. "Blood will tell."
2. "The white race must dominate."
3. "The Teutonic peoples stand for race purity."
4. "The Negro is inferior and will remain so."
5. "This is a white man's country."
6. "No social equality."
7. "No political equality."
8. "In matters of civil rights and legal adjustments give the white man, as opposed to the colored man, the benefit of the doubt; and under no circumstances interfere with the prestige of the white race."
9. "In educational policy let the Negro have the crumbs that fall from the white man's table."
10. "Let there be such industrial education of the Negro as will best fit him to serve the white man."
11. "Only Southerners understand the Negro question."
12. "Let the South settle the Negro question."
13. "The status of peasantry is all the Negro may hope for, if the races are to live together in peace."
14. "Let the lowest white man count for more than the highest Negro."
15. "The above statements indicate the leadings of Providence."

Although the author discusses the parts of this creed in quite a lengthy chapter, he half-heartedly disagrees with only two of its specifications, the fourteenth and fifteenth. Certainly if a man so well

educated and with such wide opportunity for observation, questions only a part of two of the fifteen points of the creed, we may rest assured that the great masses of the southern people swallow the creed as a whole without any mental or moral reservation whatever.

A mere casual study of this creed indicates that it is not Christian, nor is it intended to be a Christian solution of the problem. It is one of those rough, crude, primitive, provincial programs, probably excusable under the circumstances in which it was established and perhaps well suited to its purpose in the days in which it had its beginnings. That such a system of race relations should be perpetuated even in the south after it served its purpose, and scattered throughout the country where there never has been such an historical background, seems not only unnecessary but unthinkable. We have therefore in America a crude, emergency system of race relations in many respects contrary to the American sense of democracy, justice, fair play and a living chance for the man farthest down, struggling to become the general system of practice in this new day wonderfully changed in many regards—a system that has neither intellectual, scientific nor moral merits, and therefore not worthy of preservation. Its program is beastly rather than human or divine; its ethics are those of the jungle and not of a civilized community; its methods are far below the dignity and even practical idealism of America now exalted to the foremost place in almost every way among the Nations of the world.

SOUTHERN PLAN OF RACE RELATIONS UNWORTHY OF PERPETUATION

1. It is an unethical plan of racial adjustment adopted to meet a serious emergency which does not now exist. Even in the Southern States where the Negro population is large, the county, city, and state governments are all in the hands of white people. It is nothing else but a square deal and good Americanism that even in the south where Negroes are in large numbers that they hold some political offices. Why not?

2. It contradicts the best American traditions and ideals. Americans revolted from the British Government because they were believers in the doctrine of "No Taxation without Representation." Negroes are taxed all over this country founded upon such lofty ideals, and are not only denied representation in those communities where they live in large numbers, but are even robbed of the privilege to vote effectively.

America was founded by a group of liberty loving people who made of none effect the false doctrine of the "Divine Right of Kings," and made this a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. It guarantees even to the least of its citizens the privilege of living and becoming his best. To relegate the Negro in America to an impassable place of serfdom does the very thing for our Negro population that American founders fought against most strenuously. Is it not strange that the formerly "oppressed" becomes oppressor?

3. It is below the dignity of the white race now exalted to the place of world leadership. Such boasts as "Blood will tell," "The white race must dominate," "This is a white man's country," are all below the dignity of a race which has won its way to world

leadership by character and achievement and not by slogans and banners. It is below the dignity of the white race to use its wealth, culture, and places of preeminence, and power to crush, slander and humiliate a so-called inferior people. It is a peculiar kind of inferiority which requires such studious, strenuous methods to be kept inferior. Not a single specification in the entire creed is Christian. It could have been as easily written in heathen Africa so far as its Christian method and content is concerned.

4. It complicates the race situation rather than solves it.

Negroes read American history and literature. They are acquainted with American standards and ideals. When therefore, the white race stands for such high ideals for itself, but for such a low status for Negroes, they wonder if the whole system is not hypocritical. It is impossible for Negroes to read American history, magazines and newspapers without becoming in spirit American. To expect the Negro of this generation to manifest the same semi-slave spirit and docility of ex-slaves is expecting entirely too much. As we are further removed from slavery the problem of adjustment of race relations under the southern semi-slave system will become more and more difficult.

It is not difficult for persons who think at all to see that it becomes practically impossible for a race that has reduced its illiteracy from ninety percent to twenty percent within the last sixty years, and that has produced some leaders of their group who in education are acquainted with the best, not only in America, but elsewhere, to be kept in such an antiquated place fixed for him under an entirely different condition, without discontent and just unrest. A race in America now possessing property worth upwards of two billions

of dollars; that owns 650,000 homes; controlling 58 Life Insurance Companies doing a business of over 200 million dollars annually; a race having thousands of lawyers, physicians, dentists, business men, educators, who are such according to the same standards by which similar persons of other races are judged and qualified, cannot be cramped into a situation fixed for them when they were set free without anything and with practically no cultural development among themselves.

Our Negro youth is reading practically everything written. They are trained in American schools according to American standards. Can they be expected to remain serfs in spirit such as is demanded by the southern system of race relations? The changed Negro naturally necessitates a changed attitude toward him. Swaddling clothes just won't fit on a race which has grown since slavery. Even the white race is not strong enough to make them fit anyhow.

5. The practical operation of the system becomes not only un-Christian but un-American, inhuman and often ridiculous and intellectually silly.

The Christian Church founded upon the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is often forced down from its intended lofty standards of human relationships to little warring, unsympathetic, inharmonious racial and social camps in the Body of Christ! People who often think nothing of partaking of the broken body and shed blood of our Lord at a common communion table in the church of Jesus Christ grow rather particular and selective of their associates, especially of other races, when they take a lamb chop around a banquet table in a fashionable hotel.

This writer was elected a delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church by as

fine a group of men of the white race as can be found anywhere in the world. But he was elected in a noted California City where a Negro cannot sit down at a table in any one of scores of public restaurants along the "strand" near the beach without being refused service.

Bishop Clair and I once went into a restaurant in a beach burrough of that well-advertised city of California and sat down for service. The manager, a woman, came over to us and suggested that we go to another one of her chain restaurants about four or five city blocks away, where they served colored people. I quietly suggested that we would be quite pleased if we were served there. She frankly stated that they did not serve colored poeple there. I asked her if she knew it was against a state law to refuse service in public places on account of race or color? She answered, "Yes." I began to take the name of the place for future reference if necessary, and she said: "Well, if you insist on service we will do so." I replied that I did not like to advertise the hospitality of our great Western City by taking my distinguished eastern visitor all over the city to find a place for an ordinary meal, and therefore, had to insist. After very great delay in preparing our order of calf brains and eggs, we were served, paid our bill and went away quite impressed, of course, with practical American race prejudice and discrimination.

I am persuaded that not many of the better class of white people know that a Negro British subject can come to America, travel even in the south and receive far better and more courteous treatment by the traveling public on account of the protection which his government gives him than the most useful and

cultured southern Negro can receive in his native country and community.

A Negro, no matter how well behaved, cannot ask for a drink of soda water at any of the drug stores or department stores in the metropolitan districts of many of our cities without the certainity of being denied it or insulted. It is an ordinary thing for our educated young people to pass high in civil service examinations and get called to jobs which they had meritoriously earned only to get turned down after their race identity was discovered.

It often happens that Negro sick people are sent to hospitals in our cities, reservations having been made over the telephone. When the prospective patients arrive and their race is discovered, they are turned down flatly and courageously.

A group of Negroes went to spend a day on Mt. Lowe near Pasadena, California. There is not a Negro resident nor business place there. When some of them who did not carry their lunches asked to be served at the tables in a restaurant there, they were denied service. They were forced ither to take along a hot dog sandwich in their hands or beg lunch of their friends.

It often happens that Negro motorists are denied the privilege of camping in public auto camps in sections of the country where there is not a single Negro inhabitant. In the South the separation of the races works no public hardship because Negroes have like accommodations among themselves, but in sparsely settled districts or in places where there is practically no Negro population, if such discriminations are practiced, you can see that they make a greater mess of the race situation than the south itself.

It is a well-known fact that in practically all of the Southern States where races are separated by law which guarantees equal accommodations and facilities, that no serious attempts are made to equalize matters. The per capita cost of so called equal education in many of the Southern States is for the white child from three to five times that of the Negro child. Equal accommodations on the railroads almost invariably exclude Negroes from sleeping cars except in rare cases. In some states they are rigidly kept out of sleepers often as interstate passengers.

In Gary, Indiana, a whole high school student body of 2000 struck on account of the presence of twenty Negro high school pupils. It was the Emerson High School of that city. I wonder what that broad-gauged American would think of such conduct in a school that bears his name? Had the school been named after Colonel Simmons of Atlanta, the conduct of its students would have been more appropriate.

Of course we understand that the presence of Negroes in large numbers in restaurants and elsewhere, effects the patronage of such places by prejudiced white people. But is the appeal of race prejudice and discrimination and a temporary falling off of a little trade of greater importance than human courtesy, respect and kindness? Has America ceased to worship at the shrine of heroism which dares to die for a righteous humane cause, and has she now erected an altar unto bigotry, discourtesy, unkindness, crudeness, snobbishness and the like, and worships there? To what depths have the descendants of Washington, Patrick Henry, Emerson, Sumner, William Lloyd Garrison, Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt fallen!

You say the Christian and better class of white people do not do these things and are not at all agreed

with those who do them. We know that, too. But must those who really represent America supinely sit by and permit the lower elements to set the pace and program of American conduct? Some of you have traveled far and wide. Do you know of any other country under heaven, civilized or uncivilized, that practices such little, nasty, discourteous, unkind, inhuman discriminatons among its race groups such as we do here in America, the land of the free and the home of the brave?

At its best, the southern system of race relations is and was an emergency system to meet an intensely local issue at a time and by race groups unfitted temperamentally and historically and otherwise, to live and move together on the basis of equality. To take that kind of a system and scatter it throughout America as it has been done by Thomas Dixon through the "Birth of a Nation," in film and in print, and by the modern Klu Klux Klan, is one of America's greatest tragedies. The Negro is not the greatest sufferer from it, by far. White people are hindering their own progress by it.

Our Christian missionaries are hopelessly helpless in foreign lands among other races on account of it, and many of them are being forced to return home. Until that attitude toward other races manifest in the American white man's attitude toward the Negro is stamped out, we had just as well cease our missionary efforts altogether. Why should we not? We have under that system nothing worthy to offer the heathen. Americans whose country has been exalted to the place of world leadership, economically and politically, are becoming considered as egotists and snobs around the world wherever they travel. This is not merely my testimony in the matter. The foremost seers even

of the white race themselves bear witness to the same fact. As a matter of self-preservation and promotion among the peoples of the world among whom Americans are almost universally recognized as leaders, it would be far better if the race attitude of Americans toward Negroes were changed, and Americans thought in terms of character, worth, potentiality and opportunity for service in its thinking of other races and nationalities.

The population and interests of our beloved California are too cosmopolitan to have so much anti-race antagonisms and discriminations. Here should center the trade of Mexico, and the Central and South American Republics. Here should center the trade of China, Japan, Australia, and even Africa. It is only suicidal for California to adopt a provincial system of race relations. Backwoods communities can do that and get away with it because they have no future. Charleston, South Carolina, was at one time the leading port in the United States. What is it now? It has made no progress on account of short-sighted provincialism. Los Angeles can become the New York of the Pacific Coast if it adopts cosmopolitan methods and sympathies, or it can remain as it is, a conglomeration of small towns with a small town progress and spirit. Upon a cosmopolitan program of race relations shall depend the larger success and progress in wealth and otherwise of California. Will California Christians lead in this vital matter?

Chapter III

SOME BARRIERS CLEARED AWAY
SOME FUNDAMENTAL FALLACIES

UNDERNEATH all this problem of racial adjustment as related to Negroes in the north, south, east and west is the fallacy that the Old South has solved the Negro problem justly and equitably. This is not so. The Old South's treatment of the Negro grew out of that time and psychology when it was a debated and debatable question as to whether or not the Negro has a soul. One great Southern doubting Thomas said that if a Negro could ever be found who could conjugate a Greek verb he would believe that he has a soul. A few years after that, a Negro, W. S. Scarobrough, wrote a Greek text-book and taught it in Wilberforce University, and that doubting Thomas, true to his vow, believed. The Old South's treatment of the Negro grew out of a misinterpretation of the story of Noah and Ham found in Genesis.

If you are a modernist that story is a myth. If you are a fundamentalist even your own most capable ethnologists affirm that Ham was a white man and his descendants white. The white race is the superior race today, not because it is divinely appointed, as some would have us believe, but because the white race has accepted better the divine program than any other race. But when the time comes that any other race becomes more obedient to God than the white race, then that race will become superior under God. Superiority is such an elusive thing that when we come in

possession of it, it is good to keep our mouths shut, our pens idle, and even smoke screens around our thoughts. It is very much like the Second Blessing, so learnedly spoken of by the early Methodist Fathers: "If you have it you won't tell it and if you tell it you haven't it."

SOCIAL EQUALITY SUBTERFUGE

Another fundamental fallacy is the Social Equality Subterfuge in matters of race relations. So many white people of poor intellectual discrimination, hide their inhuman treatment of the Negro behind the smoke screen of social inequality. White people put so many shades of meaning on that over-worked term that I must confess, we Negroes are not able to keep up with them. Whatever it is, we Negroes don't care a snap of our finger for it, and, we also know that it has nothing to do with the humane treatment of human beings. Social equality, if there be such a thing, is not a racial, but an individual matter. Are all white people social equals? If you are, I pity you if what I read in your newspapers concerning some white people is true. Do you segregate and insult your own social unequals in public places? Do you refuse to eat with them in restaurants, sleep with them in the same hotels, work with them in the same factories or business establishments?

Even if it be granted that most Negroes are socially inferior to most white people, there is then no rational ground for his inhuman treatment. White people don't practice that kind of brutality toward their own social unequals. The things done in the name of social inequality against Negroes have no place whatever in any kind of civilization, to say nothing of a civiliza-

tion called "Christian," and we Negroes are not ignorant of that fact.

The difficulty with some indiscriminate thinkers of the white race is, they are trying to make the factory, the streets of the cosmopolitan city, the market place, the common carrier, the school, the Christian Church, the public playground, the restaurant, the beach, the mountains, the parks, the lakes, the sky, the whole universe a little white living room or parlor and it cannot rationally nor practically be done. The whole system is morally and intellectually silly. Discriminate against Negroes only in social matters where you have the privilege of inviting and selecting your guests and we will never raise any protest this side of judgment day. We contend, and we think rightly, according to your own standards, that only in such matters has any race the right to discriminate against another.

THE SOUTH NOT SATISFIED WITH ITS OWN SYSTEM

No section of the country realizes the fallacy of its treatment of the Negro more keenly than the south itself. Race Relations Committees composed of both races have been appointed in all of the leading Southern Cities, and an earnest effort is being made to bring about a workable solution to the problem. Listen to what the Wesleyan, an official Organ of the Southern Methodist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, had to say concerning a recent ordinance passed by the City Council of Atlanta forbidding white women and children over 14 years of age to patronize barber shops operated by Negroes for whites.

"It is an attempt of one class of men to capitalize prejudice to their own material advantage. It is the

rankest kind of injustice. Every member of every white Barbers' Union that had any part in advocating this law ought to hang his head in crimson shame. A big news boy who should browbeat a small cripple from the streets in order that he might have the whole business opportunity for himself would be in the same class.

"In comparison with white people the Negro is a disadvantaged race. That his competitors should seek to drive him from the fields is an outrageous violation of human rights. If white barbers cannot meet black competition, then they ought to retire from the field like men and confess themselves beaten. To call upon a white government to come to their rescue and drive from the field those who in fair competition are securing some of that trade that they covet is to take an unworthy advantage."

The Atlanta Constitution, one of the leading Southern Dailies, in an editorial concerning the same matter, said the following:

"It will be a happy day for Atlanta and for this great State, founded upon the bed-rock of individual justice, when bigotry of ignorance and prejudice and the designing capitalization of these destructive elements shall have been driven from the life of the commonwealth."

Only a few months ago four thousand Christian young men and women of the Methodist Episcopal Church South met in Memphis, Tennessee and passed a resolution which practically nullified the Southern traditional method in race relations and declared for an ethical and Christian solution of the Negro problem. The situation is this: The white people of the east, west, and north, until recently unaccustomed to Negroes in large numbers, are seeking, under the in-

fluence of backward reactionary southerners to adopt a worn out old southern system of treating Negroes, which the better element in the South today knows to be unreasonable and un-Christian and would be glad to replace with a system more rational and Christian. Is it sensible for other parts of the country to adopt a system of race relations that the better South has discovered to be a failure?

IS AMERICAN RACE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND PRIVILEGES EXPEDIENT?

To the practical American the question arises: Is it expedient to grant to Negroes full American Citizenship privileges and opportunities? Would not these opportunities and privileges spoil him rather than be a benefit to him? Would it not be far better for the Negro himself to consent to be a kind of semi-citizen, content with many limitations to his race? Is not the present American system of segregation and discrimination the most expedient to all concerned?

This is manifestly a vital issue and deserves earnest and thoughtful consideration. There are, however, in the question of expediency in race relations many serious fallacies. Let us see if we can find a few of them.

The first fallacy is in the method of judging and regulating that which is expedient. Before one race can presume to judge and regulate that which it considers expedient in its relationship to other races it should critically examine its historical attitude toward that race. If historically a paternal attitude on the part of the white race toward the black race were evident, such a method of procedure might not be contrary to practical justice, but when a race noted historically for enslaving and exploiting weaker races

presumes to say what is best for the weaker race, a faint suspicion can arise in the minds of members of the weaker race, that such a judge of what is expedient might make a mistake on account of his natural bias in the matter. It is historically true that many American white people have manifested a paternal interest in Negroes, but those thus interested in Negroes have not developed the present American system of segregation and discrimination. It has come from those who have enslaved him, and Negroes cannot confidently trust their wisdom in this matter any more than in slavery.

The second is the easy fallacy of generalization in determining what is best for a whole race as if a race were an individual. Thousands of white people are deprived of full citizenship privileges in this country, not as a race, but as individuals. All the Negro asks for is that his opportunities and privileges be determined on the same basis. In fact, opportunities and privileges are mere offers made to individuals to seize and hold. We may rest assured that only the capable of any race will grasp and hold them. The divine method of extending an invitation to "whosoever will" is good even among men. You say the Negro race is a "child race." We say: "Manifest the same interest in our growth and maturity as you do in that of your own children and put no more barriers in our way than you do in the way of your children and you will hear no complaint whatever from us."

Nothing very commendable centers around the story of men and women who have done expedient things only. In fact the history of expediency is the story of how shysters have dodged real issues. Give every man a chance and if he fails individually to make good it is his personal fault. We do not need to attempt

to limit others. The basis of limitations is in people themselves.

SOME UNFOUNDED FEARS

A good deal of the difficulty in the righteous solution of the problem is an unfounded fear produced by indiscriminate thinking. There is no need whatever of resorting to the defense of such slogans as "White Supremacy," "White Superiority," "A White Man's Country," and such kindred matters dealing with us. Any simpleton who knows anything at all about this country knows that white people own and control it. These extraneous matters are intended only to becloud the issue and make the unthoughtful enthusiastic over nothing. They have nothing whatever to do with the humane treatment of human beings. If God manifested His superiority, supremacy, and ownership of the world in the manner that some people manifest theirs, I don't think you would worship nor serve Him.

A young Negro returned from college. To indicate the progress he had made in learning, he spoke to his common-sense father as they sat one night out in the yard where they had a good view of the starry sky overhead. "You see that star yonder, Father? It is much bigger than the sun or moon." The old man replied: "That star bigger than the sun or moon? Well, son, you may know better than I do, but I know one thing: It has a mighty poor way of showing it." We Negroes do not deny the superiority and supremacy of the white race, but we do think he has a mighty poor way of showing it by brutal, unethical, inhumane treatment of Negroes.

In the matter of race intermarriage, we are all agreed that it is better for the races to remain intact. I wish, however, that white people were as careful

about not having Negro sons and daughters as they are about having Negro sons-in-law and daughters-in-law. The lack of intermarriage of the races does not involve a millionth of the problem that some anti-race intermarriage alarmists imagine. We cannot lawfully marry but one woman of any race at a time; but should that make us brutal and snobbish toward other women? It is far better for families to live in separate homes; but should that make us brutal to our neighbors? There are people of your race whom you do not want your sons and daughters to marry; but do you on account of that seek to reduce them to selfdom and brand them as inferiors and human lepers forever? The fact is this: The white race is breaking all of the laws of logic, common sense, kindness, good-will, divinity and humanity in dealing with Negroes and it will not work.

Another fundamental fallacy in race relations is the fallacy of unfavorable generalizations in our thinking about Negroes and favorable generalizations about white people.

The individual Negro starts with the serious handicap of the habit of unfavorable thinking concerning his whole race, while the individual white man has the advantage of favorable thinking concerning his race. Under such circumstances you can see how two persons of equal character and even culture of two different races can be unequally judged and evaluated. The only fair way to deal with the situation is to put the individual man on his merits and give to each an equal break in the opportunity to make good. It would be far better for all concerned if we ceased to think in terms of races altogether in our estimation of the worth and character of our fellows.

There has been considerable misunderstanding among the white people as to what the Negro desires. Some think we want to be "white folks." This is not true. We have thousands of Negroes white enough to pass for white people, and who do so for employment purposes only. We get together often and laugh at how some white people talk about Negroes to them, not knowing they have Negro blood in them, and are gladly Negroes among those who know them. Most of our mulattoes were born in the South, where there is supposed to be no race intermixture, and our mulattoes have flowing in their veins the best blood of the South. The intermixture of Negroes with the lower classes of whites in the South is negligible.

At one of Barnum and Bailey's shows in the South there were two entrances—one for the whites and the other for Negroes. A mulatto boy came to the Negro entrance and was told to go to the white entrance, where the fare was fifty cents instead of a quarter, as it was at the Negro entrance. The boy at once went to a white man who knew him and told him of the difficulty and the white man went with him to the Negro entrance and affirmed that the mulatto had Negro blood in him! Whereupon the keeper admitted him for twenty-five cents. Grumbling, he passed the gate keeper, saying, "Did you think I would pay twenty-five cents more to be called a white man?"

Another false impression that is gone out is that the Negroes want to inter-marry with whites. This is not true. That's a thing, first of all, which they cannot do without your consent. Nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine Negroes out of ten thousand never think of race inter-marriage. We are perfectly content with our women. You have only blondes and brunettes from which to select. We have blondes and

brunettes, high yallers, low yallers, high browns and low browns and chocolate drops on down the scale to ebonies.

NEGRO DOMINATION

There is considerable fear on the part of some white people, of Negro domination. Is there any need of alarm on this account? In those states where there is a considerable Negro population the government is entirely in the hands of white people. In many states Negroes are not even given the courtesy of jury duty in trials of members of their own race group. In states where the Negroes outnumber the white people, it would be nothing but a square deal that some of them held even political office. In many of the states the Negro population is so small that there is no reason whatever to fear even his participation in governmental matters, except in a way very easily controlled by the race in power. This talk of Negro domination is a mere smoke-screen to those Negroes and whites who know the facts. The real issue is not domination, but even the meager participation in the affairs of government . Shall America, founded upon the principle of "no taxation without representation," begrudgingly give to its Negro citizens the privilege of participation in the government of his country? Why shall practically all that is near and dear to Americans break down when it comes to the Negro?

SOME THINGS UPON WHICH WE CAN AGREE

I think we can agree first of all that all races are human and as such demand humane treatment, courtesies, and opportunities. We can also agree that since the Creator has made five distinct races of men, that we cannot improve upon the job by intermar-

riage among the races, and that each race of its own choice should seek to preserve its identity and integrity. We can agree also that the law of natural selection will take better care of this matter than artificial barriers we may set up. It has done so in the past except where the stronger has imposed itself upon the weaker. The little unnatural variations from this law are so insignificant that it does not demand a millionth of the attention given it by anti-inter marriage alarmists whose fears outrun their intelligence. Fully ninety-nine per cent of the mulattoes in this country are descendents of white men, not Negro men. Why should the stronger white race be alarmed over miscegeneration? The invariable rule is that the stronger race overpowers the weaker race. All white people need to do in this matter is behave themselves. It is like building a fence around the other fellow to keep yourself from him.

We should also agree that the matter of superiority and inferiority should not enter into race relations. Inferiors in all races naturally gravitate to their places and superiors naturally rise to theirs. Inferiority and superiority are personal and not racial matters and we cannot control them. They better control themselves. We cannot make a man or a thing inferior or superior by putting a label on the outside. It is what it is within. We can also agree that racial differences should not be the basis of unkindness, discourtesies, envies nor jealousies; and also that the mere fact that races are human should entitle any and all races to mingle freely and without discrimination in public places, in industry, in business, in the pursuit of happiness. People of the same race in a general way pay no attention to these differences among themselves. None of you who go to a public bath-

house where people of your own race are served, inquire into the inferiority or the superiority of your fellow patrons. Many of them are holdups and harlots, but do you nose into their family history at every chance meeting?

We agree that any race has a right, if it chooses, to establish a thing for itself and mark "Private" over it in large capitals. But any race, because it is in power, oversteps its bounds when it takes public things and marks "Private" over them to the exclusion of the public. Such conduct not only oversteps the teachings of Jesus but the demands of common sense and intelligence. Our Christianity and humanity demand kindness, courtesy, goodwill, equal opportunity, equal justice, love, patience and tolerance in our relationships, no matter what our races.

We may also agree that the time, thought, and energy used in hindering the progress of the other fellow only reacts in slowing up our own progress. Records are not broken by merely keeping ahead in the race, but by setting a more rapid pace than one's competitor. It is far better for the white race to give all of its attention to self-improvement and development in striving to keep its well-earned place in the lead of the races. The race to the heights of worthy achievement is so strenuous that a race so idle as to have time to try to hinder the progress of another automatically puts itself out of the running.

Chapter IV

PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS

YOU will pardon me if I confine my discussion to the progress made in the relation between the white and black races. I am fully cognizant of the fact that there are other race problems besides our own, but in comparison to that between white and black people they are insignificant. Only in recent years has the contact of other than the white and black races been such that a race problem has been produced. On the other hand, for many centuries, white people and black people have been thrown together as master and slave with its corollary relation of superior and inferior, so that the relation between white and black people of master and slave has become a kind of norm which has fixed itself in the thinking even of Christians in the matter of race relations. As therefore we trace the leaven of the religion of Jesus in the question of slavery, we also show how it has produced a more Christian relationship between the races and how it points out the way to a Christian solution of the race problem.

The leaven of Christianity soon overthrew the ancient system of slavery on the part of people of the same race. It is assumed the form of slavery of the black race to the white race, which on account of differences of physiognomy and culture, was able to stand a long time against the manifest teachings of Jesus and the apostles against slavery.

But among Christians, even slavery of the black race to the white race did not have very smooth sailing. The Christian conscience soon became aroused and churchmen began to seek Biblical backing for that institution which their Christian conscience condemned. Pro-slavery thinkers greedily laid hold on such scriptural passages as the story of Noah and Ham and those instructions in the Epistles to servants regarding obedience to masters. These, however, only offered a temporary and personal solution to the problem. Folks just went on paying no more attention to the curse of drunken Noah in the Bible than they did to the curses of drunks in the gutters in the days of the open saloon.

As early as 1652, Rhode Island passed a law prohibiting slavery for more than ten years, and by persons above the age of 24 years. In 1688, the Friends Society of Germantown, Pennsylvania made the first American protest against slavery. The same religious body in 1696 passed a resolution against the further importation of slaves, and in 1776 denied the membership of slave-holders in its body. In 1780 the Methodists of Baltimore went on record declaring slavery "contrary to the law of God, man and nature and hurtful to society." In 1775 the first Abolition Society in America was formed promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage and for improving the conditions of the African race. In 1777 Vermont abolished slavery as the first colony to do so. In 1778 Virginia passed an act prohibiting the slave trade. June 25, 1785, New York Abolition Society was formed. John Jay was President and Alexander Hamilton, secretary. In 1794 the first convention of Abolition Societies met in Philadelphia on the first day of January with ten states

represented; Joseph Broomfield, afterwards Governor of New Jersey and general in the war of 1812, presiding, recommended that annual addresses be delivered on the subject of "slavery," and that there be an annual convention of Abolition Societies. An address was sent forth to the people of the United States, and a memorial presented congress, urging them to pass a law prohibiting American citizens from supplying slaves to foreign nations, and preventing foreigners from fitting out vessels in this country with American slaves.

In 1795 the American Convention of Abolition Societies sent messages to South Carolina and Georgia, calling upon them to ameliorate the condition of slaves, and to diffuse knowledge among them; also an address to the people of the United States demanding the universal emancipation of slaves.

The following are the dates of the abolition of slavery in American countries: Haiti, 1794; Mexico, 1829; Danish West Indies, 1848; Venezuela, 1845; United States, 1865; Cuba, 1886; Brazil, 1888. It is said that though Brazil was the last to free her slaves, she is the first today in race relations. There is no race problem in Brazil.

I have cited these facts taken from the Negro Year Book, put out by the Research Department of Tuskegee Institute, to show how slowly in America—the great battle ground of race relations—the religion of Jesus changed the relations of master to slave in the case of the white and black race and resulted in the freedom of the Negro at the cost of millions of treasure and the best blood of the white race in their struggle for freedom of the black race from bondage even unto themselves.

PROGRESS SINCE THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

That after the abolition of slavery a problem of race relations should remain is nothing more than should be expected. For the first time in the history of the world, master and former slave of different races lived side by side, especially in the south. That some modified and restricted race relationship other than that taught in the religion of Jesus should manifest itself seems a necessary sequence.

It is remarkably strange that in the early days of reconstruction, things went as well as they did, and that it took nearly a score of years after emancipation to crystalize the present race situation in the South, and which influence is manifesting itself everywhere white and colored people are placed together in large numbers. For twenty years after emancipation black and white people rode together on the trains and in street cars in the South and voted together at the polls, most often arrayed against each other in hostile political camps, without any more race friction than they have under the present system. We often read about the Reconstruction in the South, of the "Carpet Baggers" and "Black and Tan Legislatures." Most of it is mere propaganda. The fact is, those "Black and Tan Legislatures" revised the constitutions of the Southern States, established the first public school systems under state supervision and at the expense of the state. Much that was done by these Black and Tan Legislatures remains epochal in the history of those states today.

Thoughtful and Christian Southern people are the leaders today in the movements for better and more Chrisitan race relations. They more than anybody else, are realizing the fallacies of the present system

based upon the un-Christian principles of restriction, brute force, domination and might-right, and themselves are yearning for a more excellent way.

Dr. Will W. Alexander of Atlanta, Georgia, born in Tennessee, is the acknowledged leader in the recent movement for better race relations instituted by the Federal Council of Churches in America. His bigness of heart and sympathies, his earnest desires for a more Christian relationship between the races evidenced by his untiring and intelligent efforts to that end would put to shame many northern, eastern and western pussyfooters in race relations.

The churches of America are studying race relations in a systematic and organized way. A genuine effort is being made to understand the situation and intelligently to apply a remedy. In all Protestant denominations, regular study courses are conducted. In the recent efforts to restrict Japanese by legislative action, the Christian people, for the most part, were for giving them a Christian chance. The attitude of the Christian leaders toward the location of Japanese churches in our city has been true to Christian ideals. Some churches are advocating taking over Japanese children in their parishes into the white churches and have made considerable progress in that direction. The Methodist Church in 1920 went so far as to elect two Negroes as General Superintendents, the highest office in the gift of the church. Four thousand young people of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in convention about two years ago in Memphis, Tennessee, passed a strong resolution condemning the present system of race relations and declared in favor of a more Christian and humane solution of the problem. One of the leading Baptist ministers of Atlanta, Georgia, who after he had made an earnest plea for Negro

barbers who catered to white trade, and yet the city council passed an ordinance forbidding Negro barbers to serve white girls and women over 14 years of age, resigned his pulpit in Atlanta and accepted a call to Saint Louis, Missouri.

IMPROVED EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Those who know the thinking of the South concerning Negro education agree with me that for a long time after slavery, it was thought that the most meager kind of education for Negroes was the only kind permissible. Twenty years ago there was not a single high school, even in name, for Negroes under state supervision in Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. Only three in Tennessee, three in Arkansas, three in Alabama, all of these in the leading cities of those states and all of them poor in equipment and teaching force. Had it not been for the secondary schools and colleges for Negroes under the educational boards of the various churches, higher education would have been almost completely denied them. Now the Southern States have taken over in such an adequate way the grammar and high school education of Negroes that many of these secondary schools under the supervision of the churches have been forced out of business, or are preparing to close. The Methodist Episcopal Church will be forced to close within the next few years about half of its schools among Negroes on account of the inadequate support given them because the state schools are doing that kind of work better. High schools for Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee, and in many other of the leading cities of the South have been erected at a cost of $75,000 to a quarter of a million

dollars each. This was not dreamed of even ten years ago.

BETTER HOUSING

The time was when the most ordinary and unsanitary kind of housing was thought sufficient for Negroes. In the South practically all bond issues for street and sanitary improvements were for the white sections of the towns and cities. Negroes were forced to live near the railroads or in the lower parts of the communities, and these sections were always the last to receive modern improvements if they had them at all. Through the influence of the Race Relations Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of America, white and black people are studying together this problem of housing and better health for Negroes and much progress is being made in that regard.

One of the members of my church who owns rental property in Dallas, Texas, is there now on a trip to improve his property with modern improvements because white companies are erecting neat houses near his with all modern improvements, renting them to Negroes, and he is having difficulty in keeping his property rented because they lack these improvements. In cities like Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Washington, beautiful and well improved sections have been abandoned by whites and taken over by Negroes. This to some degree is being done in Los Angeles and Oakland. The whites have sold to a few Negroes in the older residence sections. Better and newer sections have been opened up for whites and they have moved out and Negroes and foreigners moved in. Most of the time the interchange is peacably made. Occasionally race friction occurs over the

housing question but is is shortlived and soon adjusted.

BETTER CONTACTS

Dr. Will W. Alexander, the acknowledged leader in matters of Race Relations in America, is getting some remarkable things done in the South. Twenty years ago, a Negro, unless he was a laborer, was not allowed on the campus of a Southern College or University. Now, through his influence, Negroes of outstanding achievement are often accorded the privilege of addressing southern student bodies. In North Carolina last year a Negro youth addressed the student body of one of the colleges upon a recent European trip he had made. Through this agency, Negro and white ministers often meet together in conference to discuss frankly, matters of race relations, in such cities as Atlanta, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee, and Louisville, Kentucky. In many cities, through the Federal Council of Churches a Race Relations Day is annually observed on which there is a free exchange of pulpits between white and Negro pastors. There were about fifty such exchanges last year in Chicago. The number is increasing annually. Perhaps one of the most powerful agencies for better race relations is the Negro Spirituals. White audiences for many decades have enjoyed the contacts produced by singers of Negro Spirituals. They have grown so popular that many white musical organizations are singing them themselves, and doing it well, too.

MUCH YET TO BE DONE

We would like for our fellow countrymen to know that we are not ignorant of the practical problems in the matter of a Christian attitude in race relations.

We understand the difficulties ourselves somewhat, and are sympathetic with you even in that attitude toward us which we consider unideal. We understand the social and economic problems in a full Christian liberty among the races. We realize that there is not enough of genuine Christianity actually practiced among us on both sides to set up Christian house-keeping without making a gushy mess of it. We feel sorry for you because you brought us over here slaves and your Christian conscience pricked you so your fathers died to set us free. We are sorry also that your freeing us produced a situation which you could not swallow whole. You had to do it by piece-meals. We are sorry your labor and economic demands have brought more foreigners to this country than you are able to assimilate and Americanize. We sympathize with you because your masters of capital and wealth brought over Japanese and Chinese workers here to California and discovered too late that they could out-work you, and live much cheaper, so now they are a problem on your hands. You have our sympathy in the cheap labor Mexican situation which is pressing your own race and Negroes to the economic wall while you are enriching a people who stand like adamant against your exploitation of the natural resources of their country which they are not able in wealth and intelligence to develop. We realize that it is practically impossible to have an ideal Christian Society until all its members are genuinely Christian.

We are hopeful, however. The leaven of Christianity is gradually leavening the whole lump. The kingdom of God is coming. We are persuaded that in a commendable way we are doing business for our King very well with the poor material we have in the midst of the crooked and perverse social order in which we are

living. We know we live in a country that is, in fact, only a third Christian. We know that as a race group we are far removed from "original righteousness." You would naturally expect for us to have our faults since you have not been able to eliminate all of your own.

There are some Christian privileges which we are not bold enough to ask as yet because we know you are not able to grant them, nor are we able to receive them. We think we can ask, that as Christians, you do manifest Christian attitudes towards us even if you are not able to do all with us and for us which a full-orbed Christianity entails. We do plead with you to love us and not hate us. We do think that since you have made the mistake of bringing us to America that you will be kind toward us in spite of our shortcomings. We do feel that your Christian conscience should forbid your using your superior wealth, culture, numbers and power to crush, humilitate, exploit, and destroy us. We do ask that Christian America contend for courteous treatment of Negroes in public places, for her ceasing to brand him as a moral and social, unclean leper, without judge or jury. You should stand for equal justice in the courts and equal opportunities, for self-improvement and the pursuit of happiness. We do ask that this country cease segregating us into dusty, dingy, industrial districts and dumping the vice and immorality of the white race in upon us. We do think that the Christian heart of America should be all right even if there be some manifest errors of the head and hands.

Chapter V

THE PRESENT PROBLEM

THE PROBLEM STATED

IN what does the solution of the Negro Problem in America consist, from the standpoint of Negroes themselves? This issue has been beclouded by so many subterfuges that both races are confused by indiscriminate thinking upon it. When once we arrive at the real issue, the matter can easily be cleared up. The problem under American ideals and traditions can very easily be solved.

Let the people of the whole white race disabuse their minds of the false idea that Negroes keenly desire intermarriage between the races and the free and equal social opportunities which lead to marriage.

We are of such mixed blood that there is nothing in the white race we have not among ourselves. You have brunettes; so have me. You have blondes; so have we. Besides that we have high browns, browns, low browns, chocolates on down to ebonies among the women of our race. We can be perfectly happy in America if we never lounge around in your living rooms or eat at your tables. You need never invite us to your purely social functions and we will never in the least be offended. Organize all of the social clubs, bathing clubs, and the like, and make them as exclusive as a snowflake in hades, and it will not worry us the nth part of a moment. We merely ask white people to keep their exclusiveness in social matters in the realm of the purely social. We merely ask you to discrimin-

ate in your thinking between the social qualities of eating with other folks and races in public places, and eating with them in your homes or among your own circle of social friends. We ask the white race in America to consider its leadership, control, and supremacy in governmental matters only as a trust to be used for the good of the public without unjust discrimination. We merely ask that hotels, theaters, churches, restaurants, parks, public beaches, places of public amusement, public carriers, and the like be opened to us on the basis of good conduct like they are open to others. We ask that in such public employment matters as that of the county, state, country, or city, where civil service is used, that we be considered on our merits and not on the fact that we belong to the Negro race. We merely ask that our country, the most democratic in the world, cease being the most un-democratic in its attitude toward its Negro citizens.

It is the little, nasty, discourteous, inhuman, meddlesome, unkind attitudes assumed toward us that annoy us most. All this is far below the dignity of the great white race. Do Negroes ask for too much when they ask to be treated as human beings in public places and not as brutes and lepers below the standard of humanity? Is it too much for this country which so proudly boasts of the freedom and equality of its citizens, and of the fact that it is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, to grant even its Negro citizens? Can it do less without being manifestly hypocritical?

The real rub in the matter of race relations so far as Negroes are concerned, is not so much because the present system of race relations is not ideal, but because it is inhuman, discourteous, inconsiderate, un-

American and in many cases brutal. We can well patiently wait for generations for the coming of the ideal, but I do not think we should be blamed for yearning for that which is merely human, courteous and considerate in race relations right now. In those issues most disagreeable to us, it does not even require those higher qualities of Christianity to make conditions bearable. Just the mere civility, common courtesy and consideration normally practiced among people of the white race toward each other are the things which we desire most.

If you exclude people of your own race from bublic places on account of unpresentableness and bad conduct, we merely ask that we be excluded from public places for the same reason and *not* on account of our race. We can change our conduct but we cannot change our skin. If your neighbors of your own race are undesirable on account of their boisterous conduct, ill-kept homes and general disorderliness, we merely ask that you judge and deal with us in the same way when we happen to live near you, and not judge us adversely because we belong to the Negro race. When we commit crime we merely ask that you arrest us, try us, convict us according to orderly legal processes and not by special lynch law. In matters of public service or even public office holdings, is it too much for Negro citizens to be placed or displaced according to the same rule that govern other citizens? It ought not require a population of saints to do such ordinary things which constitute the burden of the race problem among us. Any honest-to-goodness American, religious or what not, ought to be able to do all that. Of course the situation becomes that much more unbearable when Christian people can't do these ordinary things in race relations.

Shall it always remain a fact that an American Negro can receive more courteous treatment in public places, hotels, restaurants, on common carriers, in places of amusement, in England, France, Germany, Soviet Russia, China, Japan, and even in Mexico, than he receives in his native and beloved Land of the Free and home of the brave? Shall it always remain a fact that a Negro British subject in America can command and secure on account of the protection which his government gives him, larger privileges in public places in this country than the Negro citizen of this country? Shall Negroes forever be forced to live in dingy industrial districts of our own towns and cities and compelled to do certain kinds of menial service in a so-called "Negro's place?" Shall he forever be cast out and branded as a social leper without careful investigation of his real character? Shall the newsapers continue to print in heavy type on the front page the evils that we do, but leave unmentioned the virtues which we possess, developed in the midst of the awful handicaps under which we have labored?

Shall white America organize its superior forces in wealth, culture, intelligence, and power to crush the very life out of its most loyal and devoted citizenry because they happen to be of another race? Shall white America use its superior numbers and power to slander, humiliate, brutalize, lynch, exploit and murder the Negro in soul and body, or shall it teach him the *way* to the higher, nobler, truer life? That is the question. We believe you can solve this problem in righteousness, justice and good-will. We appeal to you.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM NOT THE NEGRO'S PROBLEM

We are no problem whatever to ourselves in the same sense we are to the white people. We get along fairly well together and are worried among ourselves only with the personal, cultural and economic problems common to all people. We are not ignorant of the fact that we are a problem to you, but we know that we are not responsible for this problem. We were getting along nicely in Africa, having an easy time economically and otherwise, eating the fruit of our native palm trees, wearing less clothing than civilized Americans, without much labor or thought on our part. You wooed us away from our native habitat by the luring power of red bandanas, loaded us on your ships and brought us here and set us to work for you. You loved us well enough to provide a place on the old plantation for us, and we served you faithfully and devotedly. We bear not even the names of our African ancestors, we bear your names. You loved us well enough when you found slavery a curse to the country, to engage in battle with brothers of your race that the Union might be preserved and we Negroes set free. You did not leave us freedmen among you without citizenship and the right of suffrage, but to make these secure for us, you wrote it in the constitutional law of our nation and set your seal upon it!

We are in your country and in your hands. We cannot change the color of our skin any more than the leopard can change his spots. We cannot undo the facts in history which records us as slaves in America. The discriminations you make against us are not primarily on account of character but on account of race and color. You do not want free social inter-

mingling and intermarriage with Negroes, no matter what their character. Do you? Will education, wealth, culture, achievement, prominence and power change your mind in this matter? What can we do then? You say, "submit yourself to be forced into sub-human strata of society, and be content with an inferior place of semi-slavery or serfdom." We answer: We thought you abolished slavery in good faith and that your giving us citizenship was not a mere joke. We would be ungrateful to you if we did not accept your blood-bought gifts at full value.

You say, "Of your own volition, move out and leave the country to us." We answer: We did not of our own volition move in, and even if we did move out, whither can we flee from thy presence? If we make our homes in heaven, you are there; if we take up our abode in hell, you are there. If we embark upon the ships of the seas and sail away to Africa, you are there also; for Africa is partitioned among white nations, and the Negro problem is almost as perplexing there as in America.

Your attitude toward other races has produced the race problem of the world today. You must solve the problems you have made. Maybe you made a mistake in bringing us over here; but that was your mistake, not ours. If you made a mistake in setting us free and giving us citizenship and the right of suffrage, those mistakes were yours, not ours. You cannot shift the solution of this problem upon us. We did not make it. We cannot solve it. We represent a comparatively poor, ignorant, one-tenth of the population of this country. How can this one-tenth solve a problem which most vitally concerns the other nine-tenths? We are not strong enough to force you to do anything right or wrong. If the Negro problem is

ever solved, it must come through your sense of justice, fair play and your willingness to recognize and treat him as a man and not a creature below the plane of humanity. Bold brutal attempts to force him by sheer force into a sub-human place cannot succeed permanently. This problem must be solved in mercy, sympathy, good-will, fellowship and brotherhood, or it will not be solved at all.

THE NEGRO'S PART IN THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

While as a race we feel entirely free from the responsibility of solving the American race problem between the white and black races, we do realize that there is a personal and racial problem among us which we must solve for ourselves and nobody can solve it for us, and that is the problem of fitting ourselves for citizenship in this great country and making ourselves worthy in cleanliness, courtesy, faithfulness, dependability, training and Christian character; of free association in a general way with other groups in this country and of enjoying at least political and economic equality, such as citizenship in this country entails. Considering the handicaps under which we have labored, while we have not reached the goal, we have made considerable progress.

THE NEGRO NATIVE NOT AN IMMIGRANT

Since the early settlement of America, the Negro has played a very important part in the exploration and development of the country, and for that reason alone deserves a sympathetic consideration in this country in which his ancestors for many generations

were born, and in whose graveyards and cemeteries rests their dust awaiting the Judgment Day.

No other group in America, the Indians excepted, can claim as large a percentage of native born population and parentage as Negroes. Eighty-five per cent of the population of Boston is foreign-born or of foreign-born parentage. A similarly high percentage holds in such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco and many other cities. There are very few Negroes in this country who were not born here. Outside of a few thousand Negroes from the West Indies, our Negro population is not only native-born, but of native parentage for many generations. I can trace my ancestry further back on American soil than most white people in any assembly. I am the great, great grandson of Jack Marion, a slave of General Marion, the Swamp Fox of the Revolution. I can proudly boast that I belong to the First Black Families of Virginia.

Let us keep in mind continually that the Negro is not an immigrant in America. He came here by special and urgent solicitation of white people back in those early days when our country was being settled and the foundations of American institutions and civilization were being laid. Before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock; before the Dutch settled New York or the Catholics settled Maryland; before the Quakers laid the foundations of the City of Brotherly Love, there were landed on the banks of the James River in Virginia twenty Negro slaves to grow up with the country and to contribute their quota to the difficult task of transforming our forests into fertile, fruitful fields, and our briar thickets into gardens of roses.

In these days when we are rightly seeking to outlaw war, we must not forget the significant part which wars and soldiers have played in laying the foundations of our modern institutions. Until recently, warriors have decided almost every problem among the nations. They have blazed the paths of human progress. They have scaled the heights of individual and national achievement. This has been true in American history. In spite of the fact that the Negro has been a slave, the part he has played in American wars is simply astonishing and well-nigh unbelievable. The first blood spilt for American Independence flowed from the veins of Crispus Attucks, a Negro. Few names are more revered on Bunker Hill than that of Peter Salem, another Negro. More than four thousand Negroes fought in the Revolutionary War. They froze with Washington at Valley Forge and marched with him to victory at Trenton. Negro sailors fought with Perry on Lake Erie in that first great naval victory of our new nation and assisted General Andrew Jackson in winning the victory in the battle of New Orleans. One hundred and eighty thousand Negro troops fought on the Union side in the Civil War; and what is strange to say, the tide of victory was not turned from the Confederacy until Negroes in large numbers were accepted by the Union Army. We are proud of the fact that we had a part in preserving the Union and freeing ourselves from slavery, but we are no less proud of that record of devotion to the interests and families of our masters when we faithfully plowed the corn and picked the cotton, thus furnishing the sinews of war, while the manhood of the South was on the battlefield fighting to make stronger the bands which bound us in slavery.

In the Spanish American War, the Negro distinguished himself as a modern, well-trained, and well-disciplined soldier. Colonel Roosevelt testified that the gallant Ninth and Tenth Cavalry saved his life in that mad rush up San Juan Hill. In the great World War, whole Negro regiments received the highest military honors bestowed by the French Government. When the Armistice was signed, Negro troops were nearest the German lines. If therefore, the soldier deserves any credit for the progress of our country and the stability of her institutions, the Negro soldier cannot justly be overlooked, and along with the rest is due his meed of appreciation and praise and also of sharing in the privileges made possible by his service and sacrifice.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

If any country can boast of the fact that a large part of its greatness is the product of its religion, America can. No student of American history can fail to recognize the fact that religion has been one of the chief factors in our progress and greatness. And yet, no adequate religious history of America can be written without considering the Negro as somewhat of a factor in it. When John Wesley preached his first sermon in Georgia to a congregation of seven, two of them were Negroes—Black Harry ranked with the best of those Early Methodist Evangels of the Saddle-bags, Bishops Coke and Asbury not excepted. A Negro, John Stewart, was the first Methodist American Missionary. The Centenary Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church was a celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the missionary work of this

humble Negro. The largest Methodist Church in the world is East Calvary, a Negro church in Philadelphia. The largest Baptist Church in the world is the Olivet Baptist Church among Negroes in Chicago. This church has a membership of over ten thousand and a staff of twenty-six paid workers. The largest Presbyterian Church also is a Negro Church in North Africa. The plaintive strains of Negro Spirituals coming from the souls of burdened Negro slaves have gripped the hearts of multitudes around the world. In proportion to their wealth, Negroes have more money invested in church property than any other race under heaven. This is not a sign that we are the most religious race, but it is a sign that we are moving in that direction.

EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Too many of our white fellow countrymen think of the Negro race as static. What was true of the Negro twenty or thirty years ago is not at all true of him today. We not only move, but we move in a hurry. You, yourselves, testify that no other race has made so rapid progress as has the Negro during the last sixty years. During that period we have reduced our illiteracy from ninety-five per cent to less than twenty-five per cent. I am not an old man, but I can remember when a person who could read and write well among us was quite rare and distinguished from his fellows. We were liberated sixty years ago without any property of our own and without that more essential training to take care of ourselves; yet we have accumulated more than two billion dollars worth of property. In the State of Mississippi we own fifty-two per cent of the individual farms. We have out-

grown many of the old slavery-time traits which many of you cling to in your thinking of us and in your estimation of our value to the community and the country. The man who knew the Negro twenty or thirty years ago is comparatively just as ignorant of him today as the man who knew science twenty or thirty years ago is ignorant of science unless he has kept up with its rapid progress.

The Negro is moving and growing. No man knows him who has not kept up in his study of him to the last tick of the watch. We are outgrowing our slovenly habits and our women are fixing up the little clothing they wear just like you. We are taking better care of our homes inside and outside. We are outgrowing our noisy, boisterous conduct in public places and in those parts of the towns and cities where our people live. Do not expect the young Negro to be like "Aunt Sallie or Uncle Ben". It is impossible for freedom to produce the same type of Negro which slavery did. Practically all of our leaders are well educated, many of them in the best institutions of this country and in Europe. We do not want any of you to know the fine way we conduct swell social functions among ourselves, lest you grow envious and refuse to employ us.

The Negro is more genuinely American in his ideals and conduct than most white people imagine possible. We were slaves, but we produced out of slavery that matchless orator, Fredrick Douglass, and that educator Booker T. Washington who not only popularized industrial education for Negroes, but who has contributed to the vocational education of the youth of our country more than any other American. We were ignorant and illiterate, but we are winning the battle against those formidable foes. We were poor, but we made others

rich. We know and love no other country but this country, and no other flag but Old Glory. We are by birth, training and sympathy, Americans!

Chapter VI

METHOD IN THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

LET us keep in mind that which we stated from the beginning; that a full and perfect solution of the problem of race relations is not a matter that can be arrived at over night, nor even very quickly after a correct solution has been thought out. This matter of race relations, like most relations for that matter, represents concrete facts and requires considerable time in its practical adjustment. It is more than a theory or system of thought. It represents concrete situations. We must also keep in mind that all practical problems are not already solved, but are in the process of solution. The very fact therefore that they are in process of solution itself indicates the imperfections that may exist in the unfinished state of things. It is no more than what should be expected that there should be a large number of imperfect things done in so great a matter as race relations.

As Negroes therefore,—those of us at least who are both thoughtful and practical,—we are not expecting a full and perfect solution of the race problem at once, nor even within this generation. It is not that which concerns us most. We are concerned most because a good deal that is done today in matters of race relations, cannot solve the problem at all, but unless checked will only complicate matters and make things worse rather then better. The first great step therefore, in the solution of the problem, is the culti-

vation of those attitudes toward the race that will be conducive to a practical solution of the problem in righteousness and justice in the years to come.

SOME ATTITUDES THAT MAY BE CULTIVATED

It is certianly not a difficult task for any member of the white race to decide that he will henceforth and forever hereafter think of Negroes as *human beings*—of course with the imperfections, weaknesses and withal, with the potentialities of human beings. As such they are worthy of the same mental and practical processes as are being used in judging their individual or group value or character.

If we estimate the worth of white people individually, why not give the Negro the same chance to prove or disprove his personal worth? After all, there is nothing in what we call "race traits and characteristics" of such great significance as to justify the unscientific process of dumping people by fiat into certain characteristic groups. As we permit the individual white person to stand or fall on his merits, why not accord the Negro the same privilege in our attitude toward him? This is the only attitude that can give him a square deal or an even break with other races in the opportunity to make good.

Another attitude that can easily be adopted toward the Negro is the attitude of good will. There should not be any great difficulty in adopting this as a regular attitude toward Negroes, or toward members of any other race for that matter. If a fellow is bad we can conscientiously wish he were better, and with this wish will come the willingness to help him become better. Even if we grant that the Negro in America is a menace to its peace, prosperity, and progress, white people can at least wish he were not such a menace.

Historically the masses of the white race *have* manifested this attitude of good-will toward the Negro.

What better proof of this fact can be found than that hundreds of thousands of the best men of the white race gave their lives on the battlefields of this country for their freedom and opportunities and privileges of a free people in a free country? Whose attitudes must be perpetuated in this country? Shall the attitude of those who were willing to destroy the Union, keep it half slave and half free, and after the abolition of slavery, to cling on to a semi-slavery attitude toward Negroes? Or shall the attitude of those whose life blood was split for a genuinely free country worthy of the name "Land of the free and home of the brave?" That is the real question and the real issue.

It seems to many of us that under Klu Klux Klan influence, the former rather than the latter is becoming the national attitude toward the Negro everywhere. Shall the self-sacrificial heroism of Garrison, Sumner, Harriett Beecher Stowe, Grant and Lincoln with multiplied thousands of heroes immortal, who gave their lives for the cause of American freedom and justice and equal opportunity to all her citizens, be nullified by the spirit and attitude of those who cling on to the dead carcass of the past and who still worship at the shrine of self-righteousness and race hatred?

It does not seem a very difficult task for every white person in this country to assume the attitude of common courtesy toward Negroes. George Washington would not permit even a slave to be more courteous to him than he was to the slave. The very nature of our complex social order more and more demands the free intermixture of all racial groups in public places, in market places, in business, in industry, in travel and in public places of recreation and amusement. Ordinar-

ily such contacts have no social content whatever and should not be thought of and treated as social. The present American system of discrimination and insult of Negroes and other nationalities or races in public places is not only unethical but discourteous and even crude. Why is it that such a system is necessary in America only, but entirely unnecessary in every other country under heaven? American Negroes can travel around the world and be treated courteously everywhere except in *their own country.*

Race prejudice is manifestly such an unwholesome affair for all races that it does not seem to me to be a very difficult task for all races to adopt and cultivate that friendly attitude toward each other which will, at least, recognize the humanity and worth of other races. Whether or not purely social intermingling is desirable, this should not interfere with the general friendly attitude toward other races. Students of race antipathies, as universal as they may be, discover that they are cultivated rather than natural. Children of different races do play together without a consciousness of racial differences until they are corrupted by instructions from adults. Were American youth permitted, uninfluenced by traditions of the past, to solve the problem of race prejudice, they would do it within a single generation.

Grant it that free social intermingling of the races is not desirable. Why teach race hatred to solve this problem? Do you teach your children to hate and insult people of your own race with whom you do not desire them to associate? You find a more excellent way to adjust similar matters among yourselves; why resort to hatred, and discrimination, and systematic discourtesies to adjust such matters with other races? The system is manifestly wrong to those who think at

all accurately about it. Teaching hatred is a dangerous thing not only to the person hated but to the person who hates. The greater injury comes to him who hates! Is there anything so commendable in the present American system of race hatred and discrimination with its races snarling at each other; its jim-crow cars; separate schools; separate churches; segregated homes; segregated places to work; superiority and inferiority complexes and the lack of friendship and fellowship which these conditions breed, that is worthy of perpetuation?

Cannot America find a more excellent way to adjust its race situations? They succeed in Brazil where the races are more mixed than they are here. All countries get along without jim-crow hotels and restaurants and the like—except America. The greater part of America gets along well without jim-crow cars. The South did it during slavery and for fifteen or twenty years after emancipation. Maybe this system did help during a time when conditions were such that it was the lesser of two evils. Why perpetauate it now under changed conditions and in sections of the country where it has not become the common practice?

The greater part of our present Negro population was born free and knows nothing about slavery. There is only twenty percent of illiteracy among Negroes and that is decreasing with each year. Those who know actual conditions in the South are aware of the fact that there is not such a marked difference in the culture of the two races there. In some southern communities Negroes are more progressive than the whites. This is not merely my testimony in this matter. I have talked with some white tourists through the south who expressed the same opinion.

THE RACE PROBLEM AN ETHICAL CHALLENGE TO THE WHITE RACE

It is generally conceded by all those who are students of world conditions today that race prejudice is one of the greatest evils of modern times. Its effects in hindering the progress of world civilization is even greater than any other problems which have challenged the attention of world leaders in the past and present.

Those however who have studied the history of American white people discover that they have thrived and grown on solving difficult problems. Back in the early days of the settlement of this country, it was white Americans, who exploded the age-old doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings and made this a government of the people, for the people and by the people. When the problem of human slavery manifested itself in our country white Americans were strong enough, in spite of the division of opinion and sympathy among themselves, to rise, and in that most heroic and unselfish struggle in the history of mankind, abolished slavery and set four millions of slaves free! When the saloon evil became manifest among us, and the trail of that serpent could be found almost everywhere in broken homes, underfed children; broken hearted wives and mothers; inefficiency in commerce and industry; economics waste and human debauchery; righteousness loving members of the white race arose in their might, crystallized public sentiment against that hideous monster protected by wealth and even the government; drove him out of counties, next whole states, and out of the nation itself on that memorable day, January 16, 1919. Even now these same forces are marshalled against lawlessness and disrespect for the Eighteenth Amendment, and are determined that America shall

remain "dry" and that prohibition laws shall be most strictly enforced.

The white race has grown and thrived on the solution of difficult problems. It has met the challenges of the past with courage, stamina and success. I am persuaded that the outcome will be none the less glorious when once a sufficiently large number shall become interested in the solution of the race problem to undertake in an adequate and just way its righteous and permanent solution. It is in this direction alone that we can look for a solution of the problem.

FAILURE OF ATTEMPTS BY NEGROES TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

Back in the beginning of freedom, Negroes sought to solve the problem by education. Hence that marvelous thirst for knowledge which manifested itself during the first generation after slavery. It was soon discovered that the educational training of the Negro only complicated matters. It was an effort on the part of the Negro to force himself into a situation where he was not wanted and where the real powers were against him. Hence the failure.

Booker T. Washington sought to solve the problem by industrial education for the Negro and by exhorting him to accumulate wealth with the hope that this would solve the problem. We discover, however, that it rather complicated the problem because no serious effort on the part of white people themselves was being made to adjust themselves to the new situation. Industrial education for the Negro failed as a solution of the problem.

Another group led by Dr. DuBois and kindred spirits is seeking to solve the problem by legal enforcement

of the Negro's rights as a citizen. This method cannot permanently succeed, because it is a practical impossibility to force a race in power by law to do what it does not want to do. They make their laws and can break them if they desire. Negroes forget that in a government like ours vested in the people, that the people must be *willing* to enforce their own laws or they become of no effect.

The wild, imaginary program of Marcus Garvey was an effort on the part of Negroes to solve the problem but it left out the white side—the most important part—of the equation of the race problem. It only landed him in the Federal Prison in Atlanta and finally back home in Jamaica. Negroes alone cannot solve the American race problem. In fact, we can do nothing worth while without the favorable consideration of the matter on the part of white people. I repeat what I have said before, the American race problem must be solved by white people. *They alone can solve it.*

In this very fact, however, is the hope of the situation. While it is true that the white race committed the sin of bringing us to America and holding us in bondage, it has over-balanced the account with the self-sacrificial blood of its best sons for our freedom, and by the marvelous manner in which we have been given the opportunity of freedom in this the greatest country on earth. Some white people in America have hated us and denied to us our civic and political rights, but the great majority has been friendly toward us. Our economic progress in the south is the product of the many friends who have helped us in the land of our former bondage. The greatest Americans have been our friends. George Washington willed his slaves their freedom; Abraham Lincoln set us free and paid the price with his own blood. Theodore Roosevelt

taught and practiced the doctrine of "All men up and no man down in race relations." In fact, only white people of small sympathy and culture have been arrayed against Negroes in all the history of the two races in America.

As a race group, we are confident that the better white people can and *will* solve this problem. When we were slaves they set us free with the unselfish price of their own blood. When we were without a country they give us citizenship and suffrage in their own. The better white people have assisted us in making the marvelous progress we have made since slavery. We are confident that within the near future this same element in the white race will rise and put down with a strong hand, injustice and prejudice in race relations and make the spirit and program of Jesus become the common possession and practice among *all* races in this Land of the free and home of the righteously brave.

CONCLUSION

SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

The American race problem in its solution represents the practical adjustment of a backward race to the political, economic, and cultural advancement of a race which has had centuries of culture.

This demands, therefore, that Negroes organize themselves in such a way as effectively to teach their people in conduct, dependability and general behavior, to improve themselves so as to fit into the new social order of a free people in a free country.

They should pay a special attention to the matter of neighborhood improvement, such as the beautifying of their homes and surroundings and the general orderliness of Negro Communities.

An excellent opportunity is given Negroes to secure the confidence and make friends of their white employers. In schools where the races are mixed, a very fine opportunity is given Negroes to make lasting friendships with their schoolmates. Friends made in school are among the strongest that any person or race may have.

Negroes should seek to understand the race problem from the white man's point of view as well as his own. I am persuaded that race antipathies are more a product of misunderstanding than of innate hatred.

Politically, Negro leaders must interest their people in the progressive movements sought by the people generally in the community, state or country. It should not be thought nor said concerning the Negro vote that it can be purchased by the corrupting influences in politics.

Negroes themselves should cease to harbor and cultivate race hatred. White people and other races are not the only sinners in this regard. Even if as a race we may feel ill-treated by others, no better way of overcoming evil has been found than that of *overcoming evil with good.*

The burden of solving the race problem rests primarily upon the shoulders of the Christian white people of all denominations in America. They should keep up the well-begun work of mission study concerning the Negro in the various departments of the churches. To this can be added the more recent movement of cultivating world friendship.

Some effort should be made to reduce to a minimum the teaching of race hatred to children and young people. Certainly some better method can be found to preserve racial integrity and solidarity. This can be

the only worthy objective in the present system of teaching race hatred.

A few influential white people could soon cause the press to cease its manifest system of anti-Negro propaganda. Negroes have their faults, it is true, but they have some virtues far more commendable than their faults are a menace, to the social order.

Influential white people could break up most of the discriminations in public places if they would call the attention of restaurant, hotel, and other similar associations which render public service, to the law in many states, against discriminations in public places, and urge them to instruct their employees to refuse to resort to so many well known subterfuges when Negroes appear for service.

It ought not become a difficult thing for white people to understand that civil service should be kept free from extraneous influences. People who work for a city, county, state or for the government should be taught that these are not private but *public* places of service and that *every* citizen should be freely employed there according to efficiency and not according to race.

White people who happen to be obsessed with race prejudice should be encouraged socially and otherwise to connect themselves with private institutions which take abundant care of such matters. Why permit a few people to destroy the very fundamental principles upon which our government is built?

The Christian church should make it its business to be an example of goodwill and friendship among the races. Unless the church does its part the task is hopeless.

A goodly number of matters concerning residences, churches, schools and such matters could better be

handled by agreement among the races to respect the desires of other races in these matters. It is one thing to *agree* to a certain program and quite another to be *forced* into it by outside powers. Negroes are not opposed to living near each other and in groups any more than white people, but as American citizens with rights as such, they do like to have the honor of being consulted in such matters and not forced into it by their fellow citizens no matter how powerful they may be. It is not so much living together that Negroes dislike, but being forced to do so in a free country.

In every community where there are sufficient numbers of people of different races; let Race Relations Commissions be appointed, composed of conservative persons of all races involved; let this Commission make an accurate study of local situations and devise ways and means of agreeable adjustments.

THE END.

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